TENG HSIAO-PING

REPORT ON THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN

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1. THE GENERAL SITUATION OF THE CAMPAIGN

The rectification campaign which began in May this year and the struggle against the rightists had, up to August, been carried out mainly in organizations of the Party and the government at and above provincial and city levels; in institutions of higher learning, democratic parties, the press and publishing, scientific and technological, literary and art, and medical circles. Since then, the movement has gradually spread to the workers and peasants, to industrial and commercial circles, and to primary and secondary school teachers and staff. At the same time, the armed forces also launched the movement. Now the campaign is being broadened to embrace the whole nation.

At a meeting attended by the secretaries of some of the provincial and city Party committees, held in Tsingtao last July, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made an over-all appraisal of the character and progress of the rectification campaign and the struggle against the rightists, and put forward a clear policy for the further development of the movement. Now the movement throughout the country is developing smoothly along the lines mapped out by the Party's Central Committee.

The significance of the current criticism of the bourgeois rightists should not be underestimated. This is a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. By itself the socialist revolution which took place in 1956 on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) was not enough, nor has it been consolidated. The great nation-wide debate now

still going on has solved or is solving such important questions as to whether the revolution and the work of construction have been correct (or whether the achievements of the revolution and construction are the main aspect); whether the road of socialism should be taken; whether the leadership of the Communist Party, the proletarian dictatorship and democratic centralism are necessary; whether the foreign policy of our country has been correct. Should we fail to win complete victory in this debate, we would not be able to continue our advance. As soon as we gain victory in this debate the socialist transformation and socialist construction in our country will be greatly facilitated.

The aim of this movement is to solve two different types of contradictions: those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. In the period of socialist revolution in our country, the contradictions between the reactionary bourgeois rightists and the people are contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. They are antagonistic, irreconcilable, life-and-death contradictions. The contradictions between the people on the one hand and the counter-revolutionaries in the cities and countryside, the former landlord and rich-peasant elements who are still engaged in destructive activities in the villages, the rogues, hooligans, thieves, murderers, rapists, the criminals who graft and embezzle, those who seriously undermine social order or gravely violate the law or discipline, and those whom the public regard as bad elements on the other hand — all these are also contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. All contradictions other than those mentioned above are contradictions among the people themselves.

The rectification campaign among the people also involves questions belonging to two different social categories. With the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellec-

tuals, the question is one of enabling them to accept socialist remoulding. Similarly with petty-bourgeois elements (peasants and workers in city and countryside who work on their own), particularly with the well-to-do middle peasants, the question is also one of enabling them to accept socialist remoulding. As for the working class and the bulk of the Communist Party members, the question is one of improving their style in work.

The purpose of the rectification campaign is to direct the struggle along the lines of maintaining the correct political orientation, raising our ideological level, correcting our shortcomings in work, uniting the masses, and isolating and breaking up the bourgeois rightists and all other anti-socialist elements.

Resolute struggle must be waged against the enemy, in which methods of exposing, isolating and breaking up — and, in certain cases, punishing and suppressing — must be used. The principal method adopted within the ranks of the people is education — the method of "unity —criticism — unity."[1] Those among the people who break the law will be punished according to law, but such punishment has also educative value.

The development of the movement in the past four months and more has conformed to the analysis of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and fully bears out the correctness of the Central Committee's policy.

The movement shows that it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against the bourgeois rightists and other anti-socialist elements in urban and rural areas. The attacks which they launched against the socialist road and the leadership by the Communist Party were ex-

[1]Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, English ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, p. 16.

tremely wild and vicious. They had their programmes, organizations, plans, and their aim was to restore capitalism and the rule of reaction.

The movement shows that it is necessary to continue the socialist remoulding of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie (especially the well-to-do middle peasants). Not a few of them still hanker after capitalism and detest socialism, and the proletariat and the Communist Party have not yet consolidated their leadership over these people. They provide a market for the activities of the rightists. But the overwhelming majority of them can accept socialism through criticism and education. We must make great efforts to unite with and educate the middle elements. Only then can we isolate the rightists and swell the ranks of the left.

The campaign shows that it is entirely necessary also to conduct a large-scale movement of socialist education among the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside. These are the most determined forces in defence of socialism. Educating them in socialism will provide them with better weapons in struggle. A small number of them, however, still have petty-bourgeois ideas and may succumb to bourgeois influences. But if earnest efforts are made to bring out the facts and set forth the reasons, they will easily understand.

The movement shows also that it is essential to conduct a large-scale rectification campaign among the bulk of the Party members, in the leading organs of the Party, government, people's bodies and enterprises at all levels, and among their leading functionaries. The Party is in the main healthy and the vast majority of the Party members who are functionaries are sound. But the great airing of views by the masses has exposed a large number of shortcomings in our work and our style

in work. Some of the shortcomings are serious and it would be dangerous not to have them corrected. Moreover, among Party and Communist Youth League members are a few rightists, and also some who have shown serious right-deviationist thinking.

The movement shows that in the struggle we should place unswerving trust in the majority of the masses and follow the mass line thoroughly. The great airing of views and the general debating, by bringing out the facts and reasons, putting up "posters in big characters"[1] and holding discussions and controversies — this is socialist democracy on the broadest possible scale and is something that could never be dreamed of in a bourgeois democracy. This is the way to correctly handle contradictions in the ranks of the people, and is also the way to educate and unite the masses to struggle against the enemy. With the great airing of views, we strike a heavy blow at the enemy and as well as at our own shortcomings — both of which we want.

Fear of the great airing of views, fear that there might be trouble, and lack of confidence in the class consciousness of the majority of the masses and in their wisdom and strength, are harmful, right-deviationist viewpoints which have already been discredited by the facts.

The development of the movement has been sound and remarkable results have been achieved. The results are even more remarkable in the units in which opinions have been fully expressed and where attention has been paid to correcting shortcomings in work. On the whole, as the movement has developed, the rightists have been isolated and broken up, the middle elements have turned to the left and the left group has been growing in strength.

[1] "Posters in big characters" are posters put up on walls or boards by workers and staff in public organizations, schools, factories and so on. Written in big Chinese characters, they contain criticisms or suggestions for the improvement of the work.

But the movement should be further widened and deepened. It should not be wound up hastily. It should not start strongly and end weakly. We must strive for a complete victory.

In government offices at central, provincial, city, regional and county levels, the movement must go through four stages: the stage of the great airing of views (at the same time rectifying style in work and improving the work); the stage of counter-attack against the rightists (at the same time rectifying style in work and improving the work); the stage of major emphasis on the rectification of style in work and the improvement of work (while the great airing of views continues); the stage when everyone studies documents, undertakes criticism and self-examination, and thereby raises his ideological level.

In units where decisive victory has been won in the struggle against the rightists, the movement should be switched over without delay to the third stage, with emphasis on the rectification of style in work and the improvement of work. At the same time, systematic criticism should be made of bourgeois ideas.

Of course, the situation in some spheres differs from that in the government offices, therefore the stages through which the movement is going in those places will not be exactly the same. In the villages, for instance, there are a great airing of views, struggle against bad elements, and criticism of the well-to-do middle peasants. But this differs from the struggle against the rightists in government organizations. Education in socialism must be carried out among the peasants and workers, but only a small fraction of them should be criticized and make self-criticism, and it is not possible for every one of them to study documents and undertake criticism and self-examination, as is done by the cadres in government organizations.

During the stage when emphasis is laid on the rectification of style in work and the improvement of work, workers, peasants and students should continue airing their views; they should urge and help the leading cadres to rectify their style in work and improve the work. This, however, does not mean that they themselves also have to lay emphasis on rectifying their own style in work and improving their own work. That is for the leading cadres to do. Besides, should any rightists be uncovered during the third or fourth stage, or should those rightists already exposed refuse to admit their mistakes, of course the task of struggling against them still remains. Therefore there must be flexibility with regard to the division into the four stages. In short, all leading cadres should not only go through the four stages, but fulfil thoroughly the tasks in each one. The complete victory of this movement depends not merely on the stage of struggling against the rightists, but, all the more, on the third stage when the emphasis is laid on the rectification of style in work and the improvement of work, and on the fourth stage when the cadres study documents, undertake criticism and self-examination and thereby raise their ideological level.

2. CONCERNING THE BOURGEOISIE AND INTELLECTUALS

The present struggle against the rightists is primarily being carried out among the bourgeoisie and intellectuals. Among them are industrialists and business men, members of the democratic parties, and those in educational, journalistic, publishing, literary and art, scientific and technological and medical circles, as well as many employees in government offices and university students. Intellectuals do not constitute a class. but individually

belong to different classes. However, in the present situation of our country most of the intellectuals come from bourgeois or petty-bourgeois families, and their education has been bourgeois in nature. So, for the sake of convenience, they are mentioned together with the bourgeoisie.

The elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class is a fundamental question for the socialist revolution. The bourgeoisie, and especially its intellectuals, now constitute the main force that can set itself out to oppose the proletariat. Politically they have the qualifications which still can be used to their advantage. They still have political status and influence, and the proletariat needs their knowledge. But unless they firmly undertake socialist remoulding, conflict between them and the proletariat is inevitable.

The only possible path for the bourgeois intellectuals is for them to remould themselves so as to serve the economic base of socialism, otherwise they are in danger of finding themselves in an awkward position like that of the "gentleman on the beam,"[1] neither taking off to reach the sky, nor coming down to earth.

The policy of the Communist Party towards the bourgeois elements and the intellectuals is persistent. The Party's policy towards the bourgeois industrialists and business men is one of redemption in nationalizing their

[1]"Gentleman on the beam" is a phrase taken from the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (25-220), in which the following story is given. A burglar crept into someone's room one night, and while hiding on the beam, he was discovered by the master of the house. The latter, pretending not to see him at all, instead called his sons and grandsons together, and very seriously, and at great length, admonished them to behave well. Otherwise, he warned, they would be turned into socially undesirable people, "like the gentleman on the beam." When the burglar heard this, he came down and surrendered, begging for pardon.

means of production and striving to win them over to continue to serve the cause, of socialism. The Party's policy towards the various democratic parties is one of long-term co-existence and mutual supervision. In academic and cultural fields, the Party advocates the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend and a hundred flowers blossom." The premise of all these policies is socialism. The Party has always firmly maintained that the bourgeois elements and bourgeois intellectuals must be thoroughly remoulded and gradually integrated into the working class. The leadership of the Communist Party, the proletarian dictatorship and the system of democratic centralism are absolutely inviolable. The basic policies of the Party, such as those of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, of co-operation in handicrafts and agriculture, and of state purchase and marketing of chief agricultural products, are absolutely inviolable.

The spread of Marxism-Leninism and political education must be strengthened, erroneous thinking must be criticized, and "poisonous weeds" must be rooted out. By permitting the emergence of "poisonous weeds," we intend to educate the masses through negative examples, to uproot the "weeds" and use them as fertilizer, and to steel the proletariat and the masses in struggle. The Party has also pointed out that to deal with the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as a contradiction among the people, one of the conditions is the acceptance by the bourgeoisie of our policies, of socialist transformation and of the leadership of the Communist Party — otherwise it would turn into an antagonistic contradiction as between ourselves and the enemy.

The bourgeoisie, in the main, put up no resistance to the socialist transformation in 1956. This was because: (1) They no longer had any other way out economically;

(2) Through the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements,[1] the majority of them came to realize that opposing the proletariat offered no way out; (3) After their enterprises came under joint state-private management, the government made appropriate arrangements for them economically and politically. But the change of ownership does not mean the completion of the socialist revolution, let alone the extinction of class struggle. The political and ideological struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not ended and, under certain conditions, it can become acute again. The recent wild attacks launched by the rightists against the Communist Party and socialism serve to illustrate this point.

In the course of the socialist revolution the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals fall into three categories—the left, middle and right. Those on the left support socialism and the leadership of the Communist Party. The rightists stubbornly oppose socialism and the leadership of the Communist Party. The minority of the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals fall into the left or right group, the majority being in the middle. The rightists contend with the left to win over the middle. The rightists have all along intended to attack the Communist Party and socialism, but they were waiting for an opportunity. They considered that the Hungarian events, the declaration of the policies of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" and of "long-term co-existence," the publicity on the correct handling of contradictions within the ranks of the people and the rectification campaign in the Party provided them with the "right opportunity."

[1]The *san fan* movement in 1952 was directed against corruption, waste and bureaucracy among government employees; and the *wu fan* movement was launched in the same year against capitalist bribery of government employees, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for speculation.

The rightists mostly come from the exploiting classes. In their past, many of them were members of reactionary parties or groups and have been rightists since the period of the democratic revolution. But time marches on and men change. Many of those who were rightists in the period of the democratic revolution turned for the better, while some others who were of the middle or even of the left became rightists. This indicates that new political realignment is inevitable in the socialist revolution.

The rightists were active chiefly in places where intellectuals are concentrated, such as universities and colleges, certain government organizations, the press and publishing houses, art and literary bodies, as well as among political science and law circles, also scientific, technological and medical circles. The intellectuals have gone through several political movements in the past few years, and most of them have made progress in varying degree while a few have joined the left. Most of them can now accept or are not opposed to socialism. But many of them are imbued with the bourgeois outlook and it requires a considerable length of time for them really to become intellectuals of the working class. Because the ranks of the working-class intellectuals are still rather weak and, under certain conditions, the middle elements may still follow the rightists, the rightist intellectuals were extremely wild in their recent attacks.

The rightists in the various democratic parties formed the hard core of the attacking forces, because the people had granted them a certain political status and they could make use of their legal positions to issue orders and enlist followers. The democratic parties were the products of the period of democratic revolution and, although a number of their members have turned to the left during the socialist revolution, the vast majority of them have not yet changed their bourgeois standpoint for that of the proletariat. That is why the rightists at

one time had the upper hand in many organizations of the democratic parties.

The essence of the reactionary programmes of various shapes put forward by the bourgeois rightists during their attacks against the Party was nothing but opposition to socialism, opposition to the Communist Party's leadership. Their main arguments politically were: (1) Praising the bourgeois and opposing the socialist economic and political system and culture; (2) Opposing the government's basic policies, such as the foreign policy, the policy of state purchase and marketing of chief agricultural products and the policy concerning intellectuals, and the five great political movements;[1] (3) Denying the achievements of the people's democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and denying the ability of the Communist Party and the proletariat to lead national construction; (4) Opposing the Communist Party's leadership in government work, in all departments (particularly in cultural, educational, scientific and technological departments), and demanding that the Party's leadership in certain basic organizations (particularly in institutions of higher education, the press and publishing houses) be removed.

The main arguments of the rightists in academic and cultural fields were: Laymen cannot lead experts; Marxism is dogmatism; socialist countries have no science and culture, and if they have, their science and culture are inferior to those of capitalist countries. They demanded that the dominant position of bourgeois sociology, economics, history and idealist philosophy be

[1]The five great political movements carried out since the liberation were: (1) the land reform; (2) the campaign to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea; (3) the suppression of the counter-revolution; (4) the movements of *san fan* and *wu fan* (see note on p. 14); and (5) the movement of ideological remoulding among intellectuals.

restored. They claimed from the Party and the People's Government so-called "independence" and "freedom": so-called "freedom of the press," "freedom of publication" and "freedom for literature and arts," etc.

The rightist offensive showed that most of the bourgeois elements and bourgeois intellectuals did not wholeheartedly submit to the leadership by the proletariat and the Communist Party. The Communist Party naturally cannot exercise leadership over a portion of the intelligentzia and those in the democratic parties and the industrial and commercial circles — the rightists — because they are enemies of the people. Its leadership is also not consolidated among the majority of them (the middle elements), and has not yet been established at all in some cultural and educational units.

The rightists were determined to have a trial of strength with us. They tried and failed. Then they realized that their day was gone, and they became disillusioned. Only then could the majority of the bourgeois elements and bourgeois intellectuals (the middle elements and part of the rightists) gradually give way, discard their bourgeois standpoint, come over to the side of the proletariat and make up their minds to accept the leadership of the proletariat.

After more than three months of struggle, the situation has greatly altered. In general, decisive victory has been won in the struggles in the democratic parties, in the universities and colleges, among other intellectuals and in government offices at and above provincial and city levels.

The task now confronting us is to carry the anti-rightist struggle to completion. For this purpose, we should continue to oppose right-deviationist sentiments; but we should at the same time guard against the danger of making the sphere of attack too wide, and of adopting over-simplified and crude methods in dealing with the

rightists. We should pay attention to exercising strict control over the demarcation between extreme rightists, rightists and those of the right-of-centre; to a constant examination of the list of rightists in the units concerned; and to immediate correction of any mistake found in drawing these lines of demarcation. Close attention should be paid to uniting with the middle elements, breaking up the rightists, and helping those who have shown repentance to remould themselves steadily. We should bear in mind that certain rightists can be remoulded, and that after remoulding themselves they can still be useful to the people.

Those organizations in which the stage of struggling against the rightists has ended should be both timely and resolute in passing over to the stage of rectifying style in work, improving the work and undertaking ideological education. At present not a few units lack the determination to switch over to the stage of rectifying style in work and improving the work. This situation should be remedied. When we say that the anti-rightist struggle has ended, we mean that all the rightists have been exposed, criticized and isolated, and that most of them have acknowledged their offences before the masses. We do not mean that all the rightists have thoroughly criticized themselves or completely revealed what they have done. There are bound to be a number of rightists who do not repent and are determined to hold to their reactionary views for the rest of their life. And we are not to expect that most of the rightists will really change for the better within a short time. But so long as they are isolated from the masses, we have attained victory in our struggle.

Apart from a small number of people who hold rightist views, bourgeois intellectuals in general have other seriously erroneous points of view, particularly of individualism, liberalism, anarchism, equalitarianism and

nationalism. In the stage of ideological education, criticism and self-examination, we must concentrate our efforts on making a systematic criticism of such erroneous viewpoints. This is one of the most important tasks that has to be fulfilled during the current rectification campaign.

The ideological remoulding of the intellectuals is a long-term task, likely to take another ten years or more to complete. In the current campaign, however, efforts should be made to give widespread socialist education to bourgeois intellectuals and members of industrial and commercial circles in general; to demolish the strongholds of bourgeois ideology; to change fundamentally the political situation in many cultural and educational departments and the democratic parties; and to establish and consolidate, as soon as possible, firm Party leadership over the middle elements.

On the cultural and educational fronts great efforts must be made to strengthen the core of leadership and thoroughly check over many cultural and educational organizations. In order to build socialism, the working class must have its own technical forces, its own professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers and artists. It must produce a great number of Marxist theorists. All these would constitute a vast force; a small number of people will not be able to do the job. The whole Party must gear its attention to training revolutionary experts. All members of the Party, if they are in a position to do so, must make serious and tenacious efforts in theoretical and vocational study to turn themselves into "red experts" who are advanced both politically and vocationally. To achieve this, the central and local Party authorities should draw up specific and concrete plans in the near future and resolutely carry them out.

To build up a working-class intelligentzia, we must rear new intellectuals in the revolutionary spirit. Ideological and political education and education through labour must be renovated and strengthened in schools. The work of training intellectuals from among workers and peasants must be intensified, and outstanding revolutionary intellectuals must be systematically recruited into the Party.

Although most of the several million intellectuals we now have are still middle elements, the great majority of them are willing to improve themselves politically. They must be included in the plan of the working class to train its own intellectuals. We must be aware that they are an important asset of the country, and their efforts are needed for socialist construction in the fields of economy and culture, and for training new forces. Therefore we must exert ourselves to unite with them, win them over and educate them, correcting their erroneous points of view, helping them to remould themselves and, by means of appropriate and not crude methods, enabling them gradually to leave the middle position and come over to the side of the working class.

We should help them, through the rectification campaign and the study of Marxism-Leninism, to ally themselves with the masses, and to be in close touch with reality. We should also talk with them frequently and make friends with as many of them as possible, listen to their suggestions on improving the work in general, and help them solve difficulties in their own work. Our defects in the past in these respects should be overcome. Most of the criticisms made by the intellectuals during the great airing of views are correct. We should study them and deal with them earnestly.

A series of measures should be adopted to carry through in academic and cultural work the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend and a

hundred flowers blossom." Of course, this is a socialist policy, and the policy must be executed in conformity with the six criteria[1] listed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, to promote the flourishing of socialist and not capitalist learning and culture.

The principle of dealing with the rightists is one of combining a serious attitude with leniency. The struggle against them must be thoroughgoing politically and ideologically, but in making final decisions on their cases at the end of the struggle, we should avoid using excessive measures, in order to continue breaking up their ranks and remoulding them. But leniency should not go so far as to render indistinct the line of demarcation between the people and the enemy, and between right and wrong. Such questions must be handled with care and discretion.

A new united front which serves socialism is needed during the period of socialist revolution. The policy of "long-term co-existence and mutual supervision" between the Communist Party and the democratic parties should be carried out on the basis of the six criteria. The opinion that the democratic parties no longer have a role to play is erroneous.

Recently the democratic parties convened national conferences on the work of rectification. Apart from helping them intensify the struggle in the central, provincial and city organizations, we should help them at the same time extend it energetically and step by step to all their basic organizations, and then direct their efforts to the rectification tasks in general so as to enable them to discard the capitalist standpoint and adopt the socialist standpoint.

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[1]Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, English ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, pp. 55-56.

In the case of the rectification campaign among the activists in industrial and commercial circles, it should be carried out in roughly the same way as in the democratic parties. Bourgeois elements in general will take part either together with the activists among the industrialists and business men or in separate groups, as circumstances allow. As for the rightists among the capitalists, their activities of resisting socialist transformation and their corroding ideological influence on the workers must be exposed and criticized. A struggle must be waged against those of them who have seriously violated the law, in order to educate the majority of them and consolidate the position of socialism. So-called "underground factories" must be banned and made to come into the open so that they may be controlled, supervised and transformed into state-private factories.

As for the small proprietors, our main efforts should be to conduct socialist education among them. Where possible, debates may be arranged for them in a way somewhat similar to that employed in the rectification campaign among workers and peasants. We must also expose and wage a struggle against those among the small proprietors who have seriously violated the law. In a word, it is essential to ensure that all members of industrial and commercial circles receive education and that no section (mainly the small proprietors) is left out as happened in some past movements.

3. CONCERNING THE COUNTRYSIDE

The situation in the rural areas on the whole is sound. The co-operatives are mainly stable, grain output has increased, and the cadres' style in work has improved. But because of the short period since the formation of

the co-operatives, because of limited experience and serious natural calamities, there are still difficulties and shortcomings.

With the carrying-out of agricultural co-operation, the question of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been solved. But this does not mean that there are no more problems in the countryside.

A section of the peasants are still not clear about certain questions regarding the relations between the state, the co-operative and the individual household. They are given to individualism and parochialism, at the expense of national and collective interests. On the question of state purchase and marketing of chief agricultural products, the contradiction between the well-to-do peasants and the state stands out prominently. A good number of these peasants have tried by all means to keep to the minimum the amount of surplus grain and other staple farm produce which they are required to sell to the state. Some have even engaged in speculation. The spontaneous tendency towards capitalism has resumed its sway among a section of the peasants, especially since the opening-up of the free market.

An overwhelming majority of well-to-do middle peasants joined the co-operatives because they went with the main stream. But most of them waver ideologically. A few who persist in taking the capitalist road took the lead in creating disturbances and agitating for the withdrawal of their membership after having joined the co-operatives unwillingly, or engaged in destructive activities against the co-operatives from outside. They always intend to have a trial of strength with the co-operatives, and they are the main force in the rural areas resisting the policy of state purchase and marketing of chief agricultural products, and speculating in grain.

The counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and a section of former landlords and rich peasants have also

taken the opportunity to engage in destructive activities, such as propagating reactionary views, spreading rumours, encouraging superstition, organizing gambling, conspiring to revenge themselves on peasants and seize back the property forfeited in the land reform, inciting disturbances and even setting up counter-revolutionary organizations and staging riots.

In the recent period, a serious right-deviationist view showed itself in the Party, namely, the view that the struggle in the countryside between the two roads of socialism and capitalism had come to an end, that there was no longer need to stress the class line and that efforts could be exclusively devoted to production — slackening socialist education among the peasants. There was lack of vigilance against sabotage by reactionaries and no effective counter-blows were given them in time. Capitalist ideology has also gained ground among a few cadres in the rural areas, with the changed economic status of their families. They have virtually sided with the well-to-do middle peasants on such fundamental questions as agricultural co-operation and state purchase and marketing of chief agricultural products, and shown themselves sceptical of and dissatisfied with the policies of the Party and the state.

It is obvious that in the countryside, as in the cities, there is still the struggle between the two roads — the socialist road *versus* the capitalist road. We will have to take a considerable length of time to win complete victory in this struggle. This is a task for the entire transition period.

The purpose of the movement of socialist education now unfolding in all parts of the countryside is: (1) To distinguish right from wrong in the general debate among the peasants and strengthen their confidence and determination to take the socialist road; (2) To refute the capitalist and individualist ideas of the well-to-do middle

peasants and overcome the capitalist influence in the countryside; (3) To expose and deal blows to the destructive activities of former landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements; (4) On the basis of mass criticism and self-criticism, to check over the co-operatives, and the members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League, improve the style in work of the cadres and overcome shortcomings in work — all this to achieve the aim of improving relations between the Party and the people and between the cadres and the masses, ensuring purity in the ranks of the Party, consolidating the co-operatives, ensuring the policy of state purchase and marketing of chief agricultural products, and raising agricultural production.

The method of launching the movement of socialist education in the countryside must also be that of the great airing of views and general debating. It, too, must be done by placing unswerving trust in the majority of the masses.

Several different methods have now been adopted in the country and they are more or less the same. There is no need to insist on identical methods in view of different conditions in different localities. Whatever may be the methods, they should in no way restrict the great airing of views. Experience shows that only through a great airing of views can there be a general debate, and that only through such debate can the views and actions of the anti-socialist elements be exposed, the distinction between right and wrong made, and the class consciousness of the masses raised. Of particular importance is the fact that only through the great airing of views can the masses speak their minds without reservation, criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of cadres, expose the shortcomings in work, and thus make clear to the cadres the real state of affairs, and thereby enable them to improve the work and raise their ideological and

vocational level. At the same time, the principle of "using words, not hands" should be resolutely observed in the movement, and over-simplified and crude methods should be guarded against and corrected if they occur.

With no exception, the slogan of struggle against the rightists is not to be raised among the peasants and other working people. None of these people should be labelled as "bourgeois rightist."

Reports from the various areas show that among the cadres at the county, district and township levels are a few who are alien to the working class, or have seriously violated the law or discipline, or have strong capitalist inclinations. To strengthen the leadership of the movement in the rural areas, to fight against the above-mentioned people and to conduct criticism of the right-deviationist ideas of every description, it is necessary in all counties to ensure the success of the conferences of county, district and township cadres. At these conferences, too, the method of airing views and holding general debate must be adopted.

Firm blows should be dealt to the counter-revolutionaries and bad elements in the countryside. Only by so doing can justice be upheld and evils overcome. Convicted counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, who have been released after serving their sentences but again violate the law, must be re-arrested and sentenced. Criminals guilty of disturbing social order or seriously violating the law or discipline and those who are regarded by the public as bad elements must be punished without hesitation. Secret, superstitious societies must be banned and gambling forbidden. It is wrong that some cadres of the law-enforcement departments have neglected their duty and failed to arrest and sentence those who warrant it. It is wrong both to impose heavy sentences for petty offences or light sentences for serious crimes. At present, the danger lies in the latter. This

deviation must be corrected under the leadership of the Party committees at all levels.

The above principle also applies to urban areas.

In the rural areas, there are a number of social misfits who commit no serious crimes but frequently commit petty offences. Such cases are too numerous to be handled by the local courts, yet are too great a harm to production and social order to be ignored. Consideration might be given to the adoption by the representative conference of co-operative members or the township people's congress, with the approval of the government at the next higher level, of practicable rules to restrain these elements, and to the setting-up of a special committee to supervise the observation of these rules. The co-operative or township government might be authorized to mete out appropriate punishment to those who break the agreed rules. This is a method of self-education, self-supervision and self-restraint among the masses, and an important method used in a socialist society to check individualism, do away with outworn old customs and habits, and cultivate new customs and habits. It could be tried out not only in the rural areas but also in the cities, in factories and mines, government departments and schools. Some of the rogues in the cities who disrupt social order could be sent to villages in the same province to work under supervision in co-operatives which are in the position to take them and which are entrusted by the government to do so. We propose that the State Council study this question and work out appropriate measures for submission to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for examination and decision.

Those former landlords or rich peasants who have ceased to be called such but who have now been found engaging in destructive activities should be labelled again as landlords or rich peasants.

It is necessary to conduct a struggle by means of reasoning and argument against those well-to-do middle peasants who have deep-rooted capitalist ideas and engage in capitalist activities. However, they should not be treated in the same way as landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements. In the case of well-to-do middle peasants, the question is still of persisting in uniting with them, educating them and remoulding them.

We must not discriminate against or be specially strict with peasants working on their own. We must try to win them over by persuasion so that they will join the co-operatives one after another of their free will. But they should not be granted conditions more favourable than those of the co-operatives, and like co-operative members, they must fulfil their obligations to the state.

As to the well-to-do middle peasants and the peasants working on their own, it is necessary, apart from giving them political education, to take certain economic measures to restrict their spontaneous tendency towards capitalism. With regard to those well-to-do middle peasants who want to withdraw from the co-operatives, the desirable solution would be achieved through the great debate and after making proper economic arrangements (including suitable concessions) for those peasants whose income has declined after joining the co-operatives, so that only a few leave, most of them remaining in the co-operatives. As for those few well-to-do middle peasants who want to make an issue of their withdrawal, measures should be taken to criticize their wrong views and deeds, destroy their political influence, and then expel them from the co-operatives. In order to restrict the co-operative members from developing capitalist tendencies, appropriate measures should be introduced to limit the amount of land reserved by members for kitchen gardening, the area of waste land to be re-

claimed by individuals, the scope of subsidiary occupations undertaken by them and the scope of free-market operations in the countryside. Peasants working on their own must be brought under close supervision of the township government or the co-operative designated by the township government, so that they will have no "freedom" to engage in capitalist activities or to undermine the co-operatives. Restrictions and prohibition must be imposed on their illegal and harmful activities (such as trying to undermine the basis of the co-operatives, exploiting hired labour, buying out harvests at cheap prices before the crops have matured, being guilty of usury, speculation, tax evasion, renting land, etc.). If urban enterprises or government offices want to recruit labour or seasonal workers from the countryside, they should do so only through the recommendation of the co-operatives or by agreement with them. They are not permitted to take on co-operative members or individual peasants directly. The State Council will make decisions to this effect.

I do not intend to deal with the question of how to link the debate on the two roads, socialist or capitalist, with the work of checking over the agricultural co-operatives, improving their management of production and carrying through the policy of mutual benefit. The Central Committee of the Party has already issued three special directives on this. I want only to emphasize here that the class line in the countryside is still of decisive significance. It is wrong to ignore class analysis and the class line in the countryside. In checking over the co-operatives, the dominance of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants must be ensured. The principal cadres of the co-operatives, as a general rule, must be poor or lower-middle peasants.

The co-operative cadres must in all cases take part in productive work. Although this has been undertaken

by cadres of many co-operatives and it makes a favourable impression on the peasants, still quite a few cadres are not keen on or have not made sufficient effort in working in the fields. Some have even refused to do so altogether. We must continue to urge these cadres to carry out this decision conscientiously and to take part in productive work regularly and consistently.

The consolidation of the co-operative system depends mainly on the growth in agricultural production. Only when production is developed, the income of the peasants is increased and consequently the great superiority of co-operative farming is demonstrated can the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road be fully assured. Only when the per-hectare yield of the co-operatives catches up with or even exceeds that of the local well-to-do middle peasants can we stop the well-to-do middle peasants from wavering, so that they will take the socialist road in the wake of the masses.

China is a big country with a population of over 600 million. Of this, more than 80 per cent is rural population. If we do not develop agricultural production, this will not only affect the livelihood of the overwhelming majority of the population, the worker-peasant alliance and the unity of the people; it will also hinder the rapid development of industry.

The draft forty-point National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967), formulated in January 1956, has greatly encouraged the peasants and served a good purpose. Now, the Central Committee of the Party, in the light of the experience gained in the past year and more, has made some amendments to the draft programme. I propose that this plenary session approve it in principle, so that it may be widely publicized and discussed throughout the country.

Following a general debate in the countryside on the socialist or capitalist road, another general debate on

agricultural production and construction should be organized around this programme so as to bring about an upsurge in agricultural production and construction this winter, and actuate the co-operatives to work out their own long-range plans for agricultural development with the active participation of the co-operative members.

After a nation-wide discussion, the Central Committee of the Party will revise the programme once again, and after discussion by the Party's National Congress which is scheduled for the end of the year, the programme will be submitted to the State Council for discussion and adoption. Finally it will be discussed by the National People's Congress, and, when approved, will become the guide for the next ten years in drawing up agricultural plans and in developing agricultural production.

Without energetic efforts and a sustained struggle against conservative tendencies it will be impossible to turn the forty-point programme into reality. We should reaffirm the great achievements made during the production upsurge in 1956, for these achievements were greater than those in any other year since the liberation and in some items exceeded the total for several years combined. Of course, there were shortcomings and we should make serious efforts to sum up our experience. But we should never allow such shortcomings to lead us to underestimating our great achievements. About agricultural production in the current year, the good thing is that our work has proved to be on a sounder basis, but a lack of drive seems to be our weakness in certain places, and this must be put right.

Agriculture occupies an extremely important place in building socialism in China. Our goal is to build China into a country with modern industry and modern agriculture. While heavy industry is given priority, great efforts must be made to develop agriculture. In the last few years industry has been given rather wide publicity,

and large numbers of cadres were transferred to work in industry. This was necessary then and has shown positive results. But we have not done enough publicity on agriculture. Now we must lay emphasis on publicizing the significance of developing agriculture; we must change the unhealthy attitudes that have become prevalent in the past two years — such as looking down on agricultural production; peasants inclined to move into the cities; townspeople reluctant to go and live in the countryside; people living on the plains unwilling to move to hilly regions.

Whether the National Programme for Agricultural Development can be carried out or not depends on the Second Five-Year Plan. Therefore, the whole Party must strengthen its leadership in agriculture. In our future national construction work, we must increase our investments in the capital construction of agriculture (including water conservancy) and make every effort to expand the chemical-fertilizer industry and other industries which will facilitate the development of agricultural production.

The production level of the overwhelming majority of co-operatives in the country must, in five years, reach or surpass that of the local well-to-do middle peasants, so that the average per-capita income derived from the collective economy of the co-operatives plus that derived from the household side-occupations of the co-operative members will reach or surpass the level of the local well-to-do middle peasants. At present, the income of around 80 per cent of the peasant households has reached the level of the average middle peasant before co-operation. Of these, 20 to 30 per cent have reached the level of well-to-do middle peasants, and on the whole only some 15 per cent are still graded as poor. It is therefore entirely possible to reach the projected level in five years.

When there are increases in the income of co-operative members, every effort should be made to increase the

common funds of the co-operatives. Gradual expansion of the capital construction of the co-operatives by their own resources is not only a reliable way to develop production and increase income, but also the material basis for the consolidation of the socialist system in the countryside, i.e. the co-operatives. Only when the co-operatives acquire a considerable amount of common property can they become rock-firm; otherwise, they will be apt to be as unstable as mounds of sand.

Where the peasants earn more and live better, the practice of economy and the management of households by industry and thrift should be encouraged. The money thus saved may be invested in the agricultural co-operatives or deposited in the banks or credit co-operatives. We should also economize on grain. In addition to fulfilling or overfulfilling their respective quotas of selling farm produce to the state, agricultural co-operatives and individual peasant households should set grain aside against a year of poor harvest.

As it was the case in the corresponding period of 1955-1956, an extensive campaign should be launched between this winter and next spring to accumulate fertilizer and build irrigation projects, and at the same time other capital construction work should be carried on if circumstances allow. With regard to this, the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council have issued specific directives, in the light of which the various localities may set targets and draw up plans of their own to suit local conditions.

In devising measures to increase production, the co-operatives should always adhere unfailingly to the mass line and the principle of democratic management. They must be adept in persuading people and bringing the initiative of the masses into full play to undertake projects that will result in increased production, and also to solve the various problems of the co-operatives. We must realize

that even though the things we want done are perfectly correct and are highly successful, it is possible that the masses will not be satisfied if the matter is not fully discussed and decided by them. The fact is that there are bound to be partial failures or some bad results, and then it is even more likely that the masses will complain if they are not consulted. But if everything is done through the masses, even though some action fails and there are losses, everybody has a share in the responsibility and there is a lesson for all to learn. This is good for strengthening unity and correcting mistakes. We must call on all cadres working at basic levels to pay constant attention to this.

4. CONCERNING THE WORKING CLASS

The aim of the rectification campaign in the ranks of the working class is to correct their wrong views and style in work and raise their class consciousness. It is different in principle from the campaign among the bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie, the aim of which is to enable them to accept socialist remoulding. Therefore, stress should be laid on improving the work and conducting socialist education among the workers. The methods of dealing with the bourgeois intellectuals in government organizations and schools should not be used for the rank-and-file workers.

Generally speaking, the present situation in the ranks of the working class is sound organizationally and ideologically. Out of the more than eleven million industrial workers, some 85 per cent come from the families of workers, peasants and other working people. About 35 per cent of them were already workers before liberation, and 13 per cent are Communist Party members (if Communist Youth League members are added, the percentage is 29).

But a concrete analysis should be made of the situation in the working class. The various political movements over the past few years prove that veteran workers were always the mainstay of the Party and of the cause of socialism. Of the new workers, who constitute some 65 per cent of the total, more than one half come from among the peasants, students and city poor. Petty-bourgeois ideology and style in work are rather strong in them. In addition, about three per cent (in some enterprises more than five per cent) of the new workers were formerly landlords, rich peasants, capitalists, members of the reactionary armed forces and police or idlers, whose exploiting-class ideology and bad habits have not been adequately remoulded.

Therefore, it is necessary to launch a widespread and thoroughgoing movement of socialist education among the workers during the current rectification campaign. It is necessary in the course of this campaign to establish and cultivate in a better way the hard core of workers. It is necessary to further investigate and purge the ranks of the working class of bad elements. Through the rectification campaign and the movement of socialist education, the working class will be tempered to become a politically conscious, organized and disciplined militant force.

The main content of this education will deal with the role and responsibility of the working class as the leader in the socialist revolution and construction, and the political tasks of the workers under the proletarian dictatorship. The workers should be helped to recognize that under the leadership of the Communist Party, they must constantly raise their class consciousness, strengthen their sense of organization and discipline, and increase the internal unity of their class. They must develop the ex-

cellent tradition of working hard, maintain the noble characteristics of justice and selflessness, produce more, be industrious and economical, and lead the whole nation by their own good example in working to complete the building of socialism.

In those factories where the majority of the workers are newcomers, stress should be laid on the question of forging a working-class standpoint. It is absolutely necessary to put forward clearly before all the new workers the task of ideological remoulding.

Subjects for discussion should be formulated on the basis of the workers' personal experience and the main questions they have raised, and also in relation to the political and economic life of the country and the concrete situation in their own enterprises. In general, the following subjects can be discussed: (1) how the working class should discharge its responsibilities as the leading class; (2) relation between the individual and the collective and between the individual and the state; (3) relation between the improvement of living standards and the growth of production; (4) relation between freedom and discipline and between democracy and centralism; (5) relation between the workers and the peasants (here the discussion should be centred mainly on why the workers' living standards should not be much higher than those of the peasants).

Discussion of these questions will serve to prepare the workers mentally for the improvement of the wage and welfare systems.

"Posters in big characters" should be fully made use of for the great airing of views among the workers and staff. As such posters are simple in form, lively in style, and attract attention easily, they are effective in mobilizing the masses. They are sharp and clear, vivid and lively in criticizing the faults of the leading personnel and the workers themselves and in putting forward

rationalization proposals. "Posters in big characters" can gradually be turned into an important permanent medium through which criticism and self-criticism in the factories, offices or schools can be extended.

In the factories, the rectification campaign, the socialist education and the remoulding of the ideology of the new workers should rely on the veteran workers and those with longer working records or more political education. The initiative of the veteran workers should be given full play so that their rich experience in production and life, their class consciousness and their sense of organization and discipline will be employed in rallying and educating the new workers, especially the young workers. In the past few years many cadres have paid insufficient tribute to the role played by the veteran workers. Not enough consideration has been given to veteran workers with regard to such policies and measures as concerning promotion, piece-work rates, work arrangements, labour insurance and employment of their children. All this has to be improved.

The leadership must conscientiously rectify its style in work, improve the work and carry out thoroughly the policy of making improvements in the entire course of the rectification campaign.

It is necessary to investigate and overcome bureaucracy, subjectivism and sectarianism. It is necessary to make it a rule that the leading cadres (including those of the Communist Party, the administration, the trade union and the Communist Youth League) should take part in manual labour regularly. It is necessary for them to utilize every possible opportunity to master the technique and knowledge of their specific trade and to strive to transform themselves gradually from laymen into experts. It is necessary for them to be well acquainted with the conditions of production, to maintain close relations with the workers, and to concern them-

selves with the welfare of the masses. They should identify themselves with the workers in their daily life and resolutely abolish the privileges that separate them from the masses. They should, for instance, assist and guide cadres at the level of foremen to overcome the tendency to solve problems by merely issuing orders, in order to enable such cadres boldly to undertake responsibility and at the same time keep the mass line.

It is necessary to make great efforts to trim and simplify the organizational set-up and reduce the staff in the Party organizations, the administration, the trade unions and the Communist Youth League organizations, as well as superfluous non-productive personnel in enterprises. Attention must be paid to training cadres from among the workers and making full use of activists and cadres who are completely or partially engaged in production. Stress should be laid on bringing the technical and administrative personnel and workers together. The former two should be organized to engage in actual productive work whenever possible so that large numbers of excellent cadres can be trained who have both production experience and close ties with the masses.

Regulations and rules that hinder production and unity and restrict the initiative of the workers should be revised or abolished resolutely. At the same time, appropriate and necessary new systems of management and political education should be established so that the achievements of the rectification campaign can be consolidated organizationally.

The "workers' congress" under the leadership of the Communist Party committee is a good means of broadening democracy in the enterprises, of recruiting workers and staff to take part in the management and of overcoming bureaucracy. It is one of the effective methods of correctly handling the contradictions within the ranks of the people. It should be fully exercised in the present rec-

tification campaign and should be made universal throughout the country after trial experience has been summed up.

According to the provision made by the Central Committee of the Party, the "workers' congress" has the following functions and powers: (1) To hear and discuss the report on the factory work submitted by the director; to examine and discuss the enterprise's plans on production, financial affairs, technology, labour and wages, and the major measures to put these plans into effect; periodically to review the carrying-out of these plans; and to put forward proposals. (2) To examine and discuss the use of the bonus, welfare, medical and trade union funds and labour-protection appropriation made by the administration, as well as other expenditure for the workers' welfare. Decisions can be made on these matters and submitted to the administration of the enterprise or to other quarters concerned to act upon, provided these decisions are not contrary to the instructions and directives of the organizations of higher levels. (3) To propose, when necessary, to the administrative body of a higher level the removal of certain leading cadres of the enterprise. (4) To submit proposals to the administrative body of a higher level when the congress disagrees with its decision. But if, after studying these proposals, that administrative body of a higher level still adheres to its original decision, that decision must be carried out.

Most of the technical personnel and administrative staff in enterprises belong to the category of bourgeois intellectuals. For them, the rectification campaign is mainly to enable them to accept socialist remoulding, and it may be conducted in roughly the same way as in government offices. Since these people take a direct part in production and construction and are comparatively close to the workers, there is some difference between them and the higher intellectuals in government organizations

and universities and colleges. Therefore, different treatment should be applied to different persons and conditions, and over-simplified methods should not be used.

With regard to the very few anti-socialist elements among the workers, ruffians, hooligans and bad elements who have seriously broken the law or discipline, they should be criticized and appropriate struggle be waged against them. As to those whose offences are of a particularly serious nature or those who refuse to correct their errors despite repeated education, they should be dismissed from the factory and dealt with duly when the campaign is over.

The following categories, however, should not be indiscriminately regarded as politically anti-socialist elements or undesirables, and should not be struggled against as such: (1) Persons who are ideologically backward, fond of making disparaging remarks, slack in labour discipline or discontented with the leadership with regard to their work and living conditions, but their cases are not so serious; (2) Persons who have sectionalist, parochial ideas or sectarian tendencies; and (3) Persons who take a lesser part in disturbances. Utmost efforts should be made to guard against retaliation and to prevent antagonisms of a sectarian nature.

Problems arising from among veteran workers and former servicemen should be handled with particular care.

The rectification campaign in handicraft and transport workers' co-operatives should be linked with the checking over of the co-operatives. Efforts should be made to bring into full play the enthusiasm for socialism of the workers and the poor labourers who worked on their own. Attention should be paid to uniting with the well-off skilled co-operative members. Capitalist tendencies among those members who were formerly small proprietors and a section of those who were better-off and worked on their own should be exposed and criticized and the destructive

activities conducted by some of them checked. The co-operatives are to be consolidated on the basis of the victory in the great debate and the rectification of the cadres' style in work.

Among family members of workers and staff and among other working people in the cities, it is also necessary to carry out widespread socialist education under the unified leadership of the local Communist Party committees. Wherever possible, the great airing of views and debating should be arranged to enable them to distinguish right from wrong on issues of major importance.

5. CONCERNING THE NATIONAL MINORITIES

In all national minority areas and among all the national minority populations where the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production has been in the main completed, socialist education should also be carried out and an appropriate struggle waged against the rightists.

The socialist education and the struggle against the rightists among the national minorities have the same content as in the Han areas, but stress should also be laid on opposition to the tendency towards nationalism. Among the masses, the method of comparing the new society with the old should be used to show the benefits and necessity of solidarity and unity of all nationalities of China within one great family of nationalities under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government; and to expose the activities of the bad elements to undermine the unity of the nationalities. It should be pointed out to the cadres and the members of the upper strata of the national minorities

that the tendency to local nationalism, as well as that of great-Han chauvinism, is a bourgeois, anti-socialist tendency, and that it is equally dangerous to the solidarity and unity of the nationalities of the socialist motherland. In the past we stressed our opposition to the great-Han chauvinist tendency among cadres of Han nationality. This was absolutely necessary, and we will continue implacably to oppose such tendency. But it is equally necessary now to emphasize opposition to local nationalism among cadres of national minority origin.

It should be clearly recognized that all those who make use of narrow nationalist sentiments and certain differences between nationalities left over from the past, in an attempt to disrupt the unity of the nationalities and undermine the unification of the motherland, violate our Constitution and are harmful to our socialist cause. All such persons are anti-socialist rightists. As regards the extremely bad elements who openly incite national segregation, they should be resolutely exposed and repudiated in order to completely isolate them and, in the process, educate the masses and the cadres.

In carrying out socialist education against nationalism among the national minorities, the key lies with the Party organizations in the national minority areas. Bourgeois nationalist tendencies among the people of a nationality can be overcome and their solidarity and unity with other nationalities consolidated only when a communist nucleus with real proletarian class consciousness is formed in each of them. Party members of all nationalities must understand that nationalism is an important aspect of bourgeois ideology which is fundamentally incompatible with the world outlook of the proletariat, that it is opposed to Marxism-Leninism and communism and that such a bourgeois ideology can never be tolerated within the Communist Party.

Therefore, Party organizations in the national minority areas must work out plans to carry out education against bourgeois nationalism and, in accordance with specific conditions, make necessary criticism of the nationalist tendencies evident among some Party members of national minority origin.

In the schools training cadres for national minority areas, changes should be made in the policy for political education. In future, stress should be put on education in class viewpoint and in the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question, so that the students can acquire a communist outlook on the world and life.

It takes a long time to reach a final settlement of the national question. Therefore we must guard against hastiness in the criticism of nationalist tendencies. It should be conducted carefully from top to bottom in a well-guided way, and with the support of the majority of the cadres from the Party and non-Party activists of the nationality concerned. Cadres of Han origin should continue to examine and criticize the tendency to great-Han chauvinism, while cadres of the local nationality should lay stress on examining and criticizing local nationalism. Only when constant attention is paid to opposing bourgeois nationalism (including dominant-nation chauvinism and local nationalism) will it be possible steadily to raise the political consciousness of the Party members and the people of various nationalities and consolidate and strengthen the solidarity and unity of all the nationalities of China.

In the national minority areas where democratic reforms have been completed but socialist transformation has not yet been carried out, the struggle against the rightists must not be waged among the general public, but socialist education can be conducted within certain sections and in an appropriate way.

6. CONCERNING THE ARMED FORCES

In the armed forces, a few rightists were also uncovered in the anti-rightist struggle. This is of great significance to the consolidation of the armed forces. But the composition of the armed forces in general is pure. Therefore, after the conclusion of the anti-rightist struggle, efforts should be concentrated on rectifying the style in work with emphasis on the officers.

In the course of the great social changes over recent years, the political and ideological conditions of the officers in the armed forces have been generally sound. But in the past few years there has been among the officers some development of individualism and a tendency to ignore the organizational principle and discipline, as a result of the operation of such factors as the existing peaceful environment, large numbers of new recruits, and the lopsided emphasis on the part of certain officers on specialization at the expense of political and ideological work. There are those who think that they should be "awarded according to their merits" since the revolution has been won and they have meritorious records. Instead of conscientiously fulfilling their tasks, they seek for fame, position and preferential treatment, counting up their personal gains and losses and unwilling to go to work in areas where conditions are harsh. There are also some defects to be rectified in the relations between officers and men, between higher and lower ranks, and between the army and the people. Military units have not maintained adequately close ties with the local Party and government organizations, and have not arranged for the regular study and publicity, among officers and men, of the policies of socialist transformation and socialist construction. Some incorrect views still exist among a small section of officers and men over many questions regarding present rural work.

All these questions must be resolved earnestly through the current rectification campaign and socialist education.

The rectification campaign in the offices of the armed forces of various levels and military academies can be carried out by putting up "posters in big characters," holding debates, and making criticism and self-criticism. Among the rank and file, the main thing is to carry out socialist education and organize well-guided debates.

During the rectification campaign, the armed forces, especially those units stationed in the front lines, which are charged with the heavy task of national defence and training, must not slacken their combat preparations and training work. The purpose of the rectification campaign must be nothing other than to enhance socialist consciousness, further close the ranks of the armed forces, and strengthen discipline and fighting power.

7. CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE

At present our Party has 12,720,000 members (including 2,800,000 probationary members). Among them are about 1,740,000 workers, 8,500,000 peasants, 1,880,000 intellectuals and 600,000 members with other social backgrounds.

During the current rectification campaign and the struggle against the rightists, the vast majority of the Party members have acquitted themselves well. However, many problems have been exposed.

Manifestations of bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism have been exposed in large numbers during the campaign. A section of Party members is infected with bourgeois individualism to a serious degree, zealously craving for personal enjoyment and seeking after

fame and position. Also a very small number of Party members have lost their revolutionary will or even degenerated, become corrupt and offended against the law or discipline.

In the course of the campaign, the rightists within the Party have been exposed. The discovery of these spokesmen of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the Party is of great significance for the consolidation and purification of our Party. In addition, there are some members who have strong right-deviationist thinking, are gravely discontented with the Party, diverge from the Party over certain important policies, and have shown political vacillation in the current struggle.

These serious problems within the Party have social and ideological origins: (1) The majority of the Party members come from non-working-class families. (2) The Party has grown rather rapidly and adequate attention has not been paid to the qualification of each and every new admission, and there has been a lag in the ideological and political work. (3) What is more important is that the great majority of the Party members joined the Party in the days after our Party had won nation-wide victory. At the time when they joined, they lacked genuine socialist consciousness. After joining the Party, they have been in an environment of our cooperation with the bourgeoisie for a relatively long time without experiencing direct and acute class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The majority of the 1,880,000 intellectuals among the Party members have not been steeled in productive labour nor have they gone through serious tests in class struggle.

In the anti-rightist struggle, the rightists within the Party must be treated in the same way and as seriously as the non-Party rightists. But there are now still certain comrades who show rather serious sentimentality towards the rightists within the Party in the struggle

against them. Particularly in the case of Party members of long standing who should be classified as rightists, they become pitiful and fainthearted in taking action against them. Such sentimentality must be overcome.

When the campaign proceeds into the third and fourth stages, the tasks of rectification should be tackled more vigorously with the Party than among non-Party people. Apart from the errors of bureaucracy, subjectivism and sectarianism (including sectionalism and parochialism) among leading cadres which must be corrected resolutely, right-deviationist thinking, as well as all kinds of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas among rank-and-file members must also be criticized.

Ideological and political education must be strengthened. During the current rectification campaign, an over-all ideological and political survey of every Party member must be made. The weaknesses of neglect of ideological and political education, of lack of attention to organizational life and of loose discipline must be seriously corrected.

During the rectification campaign, except for renegades and those who have gravely violated the law or offended against discipline, consideration must be shown to all Party members and Communist Youth League members. They must be helped energetically and with sincerity to correct their errors and overcome their shortcomings, improve their working methods, and raise their ability, as well as their ideological and political level. Party members and cadres must be educated to be active and forward-looking, to have revolutionary will and to serve the people selflessly and whole-heartedly.

It is necessary to undertake a conscientious check-up of all the basic Party organizations in conjunction with the rectification campaign. Through this campaign, the purification of the ranks of the Party and the consolidation of the Party organization must be achieved.

The rightists within the Party must be expelled from the Party. If their cases are not serious and if they have changed for the better rather satisfactorily, and expulsion is thus considered unnecessary, their rightist "label" can be removed.

As to all the various undesirable elements who have wormed their way into the Party, those who have seriously violated the law or discipline, those who have become corrupt or degenerate and proved to be incorrigible, and those guilty of serious bourgeois individualist thinking and behaviours, but refusing to change in spite of repeated education — these must be expelled from the Party.

As to those who have lost their revolutionary will, who fail to play their role as Party members, and who have made no improvement after having received criticism and education, should either be persuaded to withdraw or be dismissed from the Party.

Before any decision is made on the expulsion of a Party member, his mistakes must be checked carefully and the prescribed procedure must be followed. After his expulsion, attention must still be given to him ideologically and politically and a Party member must be appointed specially to keep in touch with him, watch his progress and give him necessary education.

Education for probationary Party members must be strengthened and strict examinations carried out to prevent those not qualified for Party membership from being transferred to full membership.

To ensure a constant readjustment of the composition of Party membership and to infuse fresh blood into the Party, people who are really qualified for membership, particularly veteran workers and outstanding higher intellectuals, may be accepted into the Party in a well-guided manner, on the basis of the rectification campaign and the struggle against the rightists, and on

the condition that the quality of the membership is really assured.

The rectification campaign and the struggle against the rightists have been a test for every Party member, and especially for each cadre.

It is necessary to dwell here on the Party's work regarding cadres.

Our Party has always paid close attention to selecting cadres for various leading positions from among outstanding workers and peasants and those intellectuals who maintain a close link with the workers and peasants. This is the Party's line in its work regarding cadres.

For a time in the past, we took in too many young intellectuals who had not been steeled in productive labour or tested in struggle, and gave them work in leading organizations at various levels. This was a shortcoming.

Hereafter, we should continue to choose cadres from among the outstanding workers and peasants, but these should be workers and peasants with a certain educational level. We should also select cadres from among the outstanding intellectuals, but they should be intellectuals who have been steeled in productive work and struggle and who maintain close connection with the workers and peasants. Those intellectuals among the cadres who have not been tempered in practical struggle and have no experience of working in an organization at the basic level should be sent, according to plan, to do productive work for a few years in villages and factories, or to do practical work at the basic level. All leading personnel in the Party, government and the mass organizations at various levels must be tempered in practical struggle and equipped with the experience of working at the basic level. It is necessary for those who lack such training to make it up. This is also true for

those working in the fields of literature, the arts, the press, theoretical work and in other fields of propaganda.

Appropriate arrangements should be worked out to send graduates from universities, colleges and secondary vocational schools first to do manual work in productive spheres which are suited to their specialties. After one or more years of work they will be assigned to jobs according to their specialties and their record in productive labour.

Serious efforts should be made to create conditions for manual workers to acquire cultural and scientific knowledge, and enable those of them who have the aptitude for higher learning to enter universities or vocational schools.

Only by seriously carrying through this line regarding cadres can the work of the Party and the state in training and selecting cadres be placed on a reliable basis, and an army of cadres be built up—cadres dedicated to the cause of communism and capable of weathering any storm that might arise.

The question of localization of cadres is one of the problems which must be correctly resolved in the Party's work concerning cadres. At present there is a certain vagueness on this question, which calls for clarification.

In the early days of nation-wide liberation, the Central Committee maintained that in building up the newly liberated areas reliance should be put mainly on the armed forces and cadres from the old liberated areas. This policy was perfectly correct. The overwhelming majority of these cadres are now doing well with their work and have established contacts with the local people; in other words, they have become localized and should stay and work where they are. A small number have difficulties in continuing their work, or are doing badly. These should be persuaded to return to their native places or their former places of work to take up productive work; or else other appropriate arrangements should be made for them. All localities should choose considerable numbers of local people as cadres; this has been done and will be continued. In most places relations now between the local cadres and those from other places are harmonious and normal. But some comrades lack a correct understanding about the localization of cadres; some even tend to exclude cadres from other places. This is wrong — it is a manifestation of sectionalism which should be corrected in the present rectification campaign.

It must be pointed out that localization of cadres is not the highest principle in the Party's cadre policy. The highest principle is, first of all, a communist outlook; cadres, both local and from other places, must first and foremost have a communist outlook; and sectionalism is incompatible with communism. The choice of local cadres must still follow the principle of equal stress on integrity and ability, and there should also be appropriate readjustment in some spheres. For instance, it is probably not good to have all cadres at the county level chosen from the local people, to say nothing of higher levels.

I shall now discuss the question of the Communist Youth League.

The Communist Youth League is the Party's powerful assistant. Party organizations at all levels should pay close attention to the consolidation of the League and to raising the quality of its membership. The League has made tremendous achievements in the last few years, but during the great airing of views and the struggle against the rightists many problems have been disclosed among the League members, particularly those related to the League's policy towards its functionaries and its ideological and political education. A serious check-up of the organization and work of the League

must be carried out in conjunction with the rectification campaign.

When taking disciplinary measures against Communist Youth League members who have committed various serious mistakes, generally it may be done with reference to the principles governing the handling of cases of Party members who have committed mistakes of various kinds. But they should be treated less severely than Party members, and with greater emphasis on education.

8. IMPROVING THE WORK AND STRIVING FOR COMPLETE VICTORY

Improvement of work and the struggle against the rightists are of equal importance and neither must be neglected.

The consolidation and strengthening of the Party's leadership depends on the Party itself, on the correctness of its leadership, and on whether the shortcomings and mistakes in its work can be effectively corrected. The struggle against the rightists does not automatically eliminate our own shortcomings and mistakes.

During the rectification campaign many criticisms and suggestions have been put forward both within and outside the Party. Most of these are correct. Some others, though rather one-sided and emotional, are not unhelpful.

The comparatively striking faults in our work are the following:

Many regulations and systems are irrational, impracticable or contradictory. This has affected the relations between higher and lower levels, between people and organizations at the same level, between one department and another and between one section of the people and another, and has affected the growth of production.

In some cases, the fault is that provisions have not been elaborated correctly; in other cases, the provisions were correct, but have not been changed coincidentally with the change in conditions; in still other cases, the provisions should have been drawn up by the local authorities in the light of local conditions and not by the central authorities in a uniform way for all parts of the country; some faults arise from provisions being drawn up by departments under the central authorities independently when mutual consultations should have taken place; some faults are difficult to avoid, because of inadequate experience, while others definitely could have been avoided. Both over-centralization and excessive decentralization exist. The same is true in certain of the provisions drawn up by local authorities.

Many of the leading organizations and cadres have seriously divorced themselves from reality and from the masses. Responsible comrades busy themselves with routine, keep too little contact with the masses and do not clearly understand their problems. Many irrational privileges in the day-to-day life have facilitated the tendency of the cadres to alienate themselves from the masses. Not a few have become conceited and arrogant, refusing to apply the mass line or consult the masses about problems in work. Not a few are reluctant to mix with non-Party people or with non-Party public personages.

It is imperative that all this be corrected, and resolutely.

Ours is a big country with a population of 600 million. It is a great and arduous task to unite 600 million people for the building of socialism with one mind and purpose. To fulfil this task, it is necessary to adhere to the mass line, correctly handle the contradictions among the people and create a vigorous and lively political situation which combines centralism with democracy, disci-

pline with freedom, and united *will with* personal ease of mind. In such a political situation, the Party and the state will become more consolidated and, with greater ease, overcome difficulties and weather any storm that might blow up. This will facilitate the advance of our socialist revolution and socialist construction, and the realization of the industrialization of our country and the modernization of its agriculture.

To create such a political situation, it is necessary, on the one hand, to carry through the struggle against the rightists, to strengthen our dictatorship over the counter-revolutionaries and to consolidate the discipline of the Party and the state; while, on the other hand, to overcome sectarianism, bureaucracy and subjectivism.

In order to rectify our style in work and improve the work, efforts should now be concentrated on the following three points:

(1) Overcoming sectarianism and tendencies towards special privileges.

Members of the Communist Party must be just and selfless, be one with the masses and share their joys and sufferings. They should keep in close contact with non-Party people and public personages and make friends with as many of them as possible. The difference between the living standards of the cadres and those of the masses should not be too great. Regulations or systems that tend to give the cadres special privileges over the masses should be abolished, and plain, simple living should be the rule. Leading officials must keep in close contact with their subordinates and with the masses, and cadres must take part in manual labour. The difference in the living standards between workers and peasants and between urban and rural areas should not be too great. In improving living standards, consideration must be given to the conditions of the great majority of the people in the country. Therefore,

at present, we should adhere to a rational low-wage system and do our best to ensure a livelihood for everyone.

(2) Altering irrational provisions in working systems and in the matter of organization, and making appropriate readjustments in the relations between the Party and the government and between higher and lower levels concerning centralization and unification on the one hand and division of work and responsibility on the other.

Centralization, decentralization and powers shifting from higher to lower levels must be carried out where necessary. Both over-centralization and excessive decentralization must be corrected.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party has submitted to this plenary session three documents concerning respectively the industrial, commercial and financial systems of the state. The spirit underlying these documents is to shift part of the power to lower levels — a measure conducive to a further release of local initiative, the strengthening of the leadership in various enterprises and public institutions, and the overcoming of subjectivism and bureaucracy. At the same time, it will not impair unified leadership and the undertaking of key construction projects. This change definitely means an improvement on the present systems. But the new provisions, too, will not be perfect. They will need to be supplemented and improved in the course of being carried out. It should be noted that when some power is shifted to lower levels, certain new contradictions may emerge and therefore greater attention is required to strengthening the work of planning and co-ordination. Both central and local authorities should take note of this.

The excessive number of personnel in the Party and government organs and of non-productive personnel in

enterprises and public institutions, as well as the inflated and redundant organizational set-up, have contributed to the growth of subjectivism and bureaucracy. Vigorous retrenchment must be effected. The simplification of organization and reduction of non-productive personnel will have great significance for our present national construction in three aspects: Firstly, it will help overcome subjectivism and bureaucracy which result in departure from reality and alienation from the masses. Secondly, it will create an army of tried and tested cadres who are devoted to the cause of communism and can weather storms. Thirdly, it will save considerable manpower and money, reinforce the labour force, strengthen the work at the lower levels and speed up construction work. Therefore, every unit should speedily draw up its retrenchment programme and mobilize a good many of its staff to go to production units or lower units where reinforcements are needed, or to other places. Many unnecessary or overlapping departments and organizations should be abolished or merged and have their organizational structure simplified. In carrying out the retrenchment policy, apart from young intellectuals among the cadres, of whom as many as possible must be sent to take part in productive labour or work at the lower levels, a certain number of other cadres should also return to productive work or to the lower levels. We must establish in our country an excellent prevailing custom: the cadres are able to handle work competently at both higher and lower levels, and able to leave and return to productive work whenever circumstances demand.

(3) Broadening democracy among the people and continuing to strengthen the democratic system.

It is essential to persist in using methods as mild as a drizzle and as gentle as a breeze, and to adhere to the formula of "unity — criticism — unity," in dealing with contradictions among the people. Leading

cadres at all levels must fully respect the democratic rights of the people, constantly heed their opinions and demands, give serious consideration to reasonable, though differing or opposed, views of all kinds, sincerely accept the criticism and supervision of the masses and resolutely overcome their own shortcomings and mistakes. "In settling . . . controversial issues among the people, we can only use democratic methods, methods of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, not coercive, high-handed methods."[1] Only by carrying out this directive of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, can the enthusiasm of the masses be aroused and their class consciousness enhanced. Only by doing this will the masses in the future boldly express their criticisms and opinions in their political life and argue and persist in the truth.

The struggle against the rightists is to pave the way for the correct handling of contradictions within the ranks of the people. We definitely will not allow anyone to make use of that struggle to obstruct the expression of opinions by the people and to settle controversial issues among the people by coercive and high-handed methods. In order to educate the masses, especially to dispel the misgivings of the middle elements, in the struggle against the rightists special attention must also be paid to holding fast the principle of bringing out the facts, setting forth the reasons and convincing people by sound arguments, to guarding against over-simplified and crude methods, and to avoiding, to the best of our power, exaggeration and one-sidedness. In dealing with the wrong viewpoints of the middle elements and the workers and peasants, it is necessary to use the method

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[1]Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, English ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, p. 16.

of patient persuasion and education. In dealing with academic controversies, it is particularly important to fight against arbitrariness and rashness. We must see to it that the outcome of the struggle against the rightists is nothing but favourable to the carrying-out of the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend, a hundred flowers blossom," favourable to the creation of an atmosphere in which the people do not hesitate to speak up.

We must work to achieve complete success in the current campaign. By complete success, we mean success in the struggle against the rightists, success in improving our work, and success in remoulding our ideology. What is more, we must see to it that the outcome of the struggle leads to a political situation such as is described above.

Now the struggle against the rightists should be still more thoroughgoing and widespread; we have gained a decisive victory in this respect. But the task of improving our work has only begun. We must pay special attention to this.

The improvement of work has been going fairly well in some areas and units. The experience of these units shows that most of the suggestions put forward by the masses can be accepted and put into practice right away by the units themselves, and that only a few of the problems need to be solved at higher levels or require overall solution by the central authorities.

In order to effectively improve our work, it is necessary to continue boldly mobilizing the masses for a great airing of views without reservation whatsoever. The departments and units of the central and local authorities should set up special committees headed by leading personnel, to collect all the opinions of the masses for improving the work and, after careful study of these opinions, to put forward plans and programmes to improve the work, and to carry them out step by step. The progress in the improvement of the work should be promptly reported to the higher levels and the central authorities.

At present, the rectification campaign in many units of the country has advanced into a high tide of improving the work and these units have succeeded in generating a new vitality in work. Shortcomings which were not overcome for several years because of procrastination have been overcome very quickly this time, and problems that would have taken a very long time to solve have now been settled very rapidly. The enthusiasm of the masses has been greatly raised and the ties between the Party and the masses and between the cadres and the people have been greatly strengthened. Nevertheless, there are still leading comrades in quite a number of units who have not paid attention, or failed to attach sufficient importance, to improving the work. Some feared the exposure of their shortcomings and from the very start of the campaign did not dare let the masses air their views. After the great airing of views, some others used the fight against the rightists to cover up their own mistakes, in an attempt to evade rectifying their style in work and improving the work. A very few others have even taken retaliation against those who happened to criticize them. These are all impermissible.

In the course of improving the work, our slogan to the masses should be: Air your views resolutely, boldly and thoroughly. Our slogan to the leading cadres should be: Improve the work resolutely, boldly and thoroughly. Party committees at all levels should conscientiously strengthen their leadership in the third and fourth stages of the rectification campaign so as to make it a complete success.